352 And the life of these Indians is as simple and primitive as
412 their houses. They have no furniture of any kind, they squat and
513 sleep on the floor. As for tools, the only ones they have are cooking utensils and what they need for their canoe trips and for hunting and fishing. Each district has its Gobernador or cacique, who
622 rules with an iron hand and keeps order. Around Easter they have
796 a few penalty and penance days, when the chieftain executes sentences of whipping on all those who have committed misdeeds
656 in the course of the year. The government in Quito does not interfere at all with the Cayapa, as they know that these peaceful Indians never get into trouble and never present problems.

584 The love and marriage life of the Cayapa is on a morally very
583 high level. If a young man falls in love with a girl, his father turns match-maker and goes to see the girl's parents. If the young man is acceptable, they demand as high a dowry as possible, consisting of canoes, domestic animals, utensils and food. They will not part with their daughter without receiving a good price for her. In other words, the procedure is exactly the reverse from what it is in Europe, where the young lady has to be outfitted with a dowry in order to find a man.

582 In order to find out now whether the enamored young Cayapa
583 is actually of marriageable age and in a position to support a
[411] family, he is sent into the forest with a blowgun, bow and arrows, i.e. with weapons which he can manufacture himself, in order to kill a Sahino (type of wild boar). If he succeeds in this hunting feat, he has proved his capability, and the wedding may take place. Beforehand, however, he is sent to see the cacique, who will explain to him that marriage not only brings pleasures, but also troubles, asking him, whether he is prepared to suffer these. It is obvious that the answer is always yes. And now he has to undergo the test. He has to bare his back, on which the cacique will administer a hundred blows (well-counted on fingers and toes) with the ship. If the fiancé has neither cried out nor dodged, but bore the whipping with courage and steadfastness, even though his teeth may have been clenched, he has successfully passed the test [286] and the ceremony may be completed by the cacique.

585 A banquet is organized. Whatever the fields, forest and rivers
[273] can yield in terms of potables will be turned into food which will be accompanied by great quantities of Chicha, Guarapo and Masato (corn, cane-sugar and banana beverages). All the village inhabit-
[415] ants will attend the festivities. Many of them show how practical

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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342 village of Punta Venado is such a rancho, built with its floor of bamboo resting almost upon the ground. On the other hand, ranchos that are built for regular temporary shelters such as those above mentioned, have their floors raised from two to four feet from the ground. This rancho in the plaza of the village is shown in pls. CXXXII-CXXXIV. In the background of pl. CXXXII and pl. CXXXIII distant views are illustrated, and pl. CXXXIV shows it in detail and indicates its special and interesting use. During one day only of the year is this rancho occupied. At the fiesta held during Easter week the entire plaza is carefully cleared of its dense growth of weeds, grass, and vines, thus making access to the rancho possible. Before dawn on Easter Sunday itself, all dancing in the village ceases. The musical instruments are transferred to this rancho and a procession is formed which brings some of the images of saints from the church to the rancho, where they sit in state, as it were, throughout the day, while music is played before them almost constantly. It is said that this is the one day of the year when these saintly images can drink as human beings, and they are frequently offered guarapo, a calabash of this cane juice being placed to their lips as if they were in the act of drinking. During this time people are prohibited from drinking rum in the presence of the images, though they may drink as much guarapo as they desire.

796 [351] 778 [272] [784]

348 The cane-mill, which is itself an important and a permanent building, is constructed in exactly the same manner as a regular dwelling. It is usually situated

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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near the permanent dwelling, and is almost always surrounded by cane-fields. The cane-mill is equipped with what may be termed the mill proper, consisting of a pair of large and very heavy rollers with a large hand-wheel used in turning them, the large storage pots for fermenting the cane juice, and the fireplace and pottery still used in distilling the rum made from the fermented juice. The similarity which such a mill bears to an ordinary dwelling is shown in pls. I, II, in each of which the structure to the right is the mill, and that to the left the dwelling. These two illustrations show also how close together the mill and the dwelling are sometimes built. In pl. VI is shown an isolated mill, with a field of young cane in the background. The dwelling of the owner of this cane-mill, illustrated in pl. V, is situated directly opposite on the bank of the river.

The three classes of buildings described are generally isolated from others. The continuously inhabited dwellings are never assembled into villages, but are scattered at intervals along the banks of the stream. There are, however, within the Cayapa territory, three villages, each consisting of a church and a number of houses. These villages are used by the people only when they come together for religious feasts and on other festival occasions. The houses in these villages are never occupied regularly except at such times, though they are constructed in every way like the dwellings occupied permanently by the people as homes.

The church, which of course is a modern institution, having existed only since the time of the Spanish con-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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spot. He brought home a small amount, but when it was cooked and his wife called him to eat, he never appeared hungry, consuming but a small amount and declaring that the food was not good. Later his form was changed to that which he now has, and he is obliged to walk on all four feet. His finely-colored shirt became his present spotted skin.

CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

Of aboriginal ceremonies there are few traces left among the Cayapa, so completely have the fiestas of the church supplanted them. In these festivities there are certain remnants of aboriginal customs, but they are entirely subordinated to the practices of the Catholic church.

Contrary to the customs of many aboriginal peoples, there are not at present, and apparently never have been, any special ceremonial observances associated with birth, puberty, and menstruation, although there are certain restrictions and slight observances of an ordinary character connected with each of these.

The marriage and mortuary ceremonies, already described, are, on the other hand, quite elaborate, and apparently retain much of their aboriginality, although largely assuming the nature of these ceremonies as celebrated by the church.

Two regular church festivals, that of "Noche Buena" or Christmas, and that of "Semana Santa" or Easter, are celebrated, as one might suppose, entirely according to church custom.

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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177 796 Another festival, having its origin in the Ecuadorian national holiday, August tenth, is also celebrated by the Cayapa, although the date of the event is never a fixed one with them. This is ordinarily the one time of the year when a priest visits the villages, and the date of its celebration depends largely on his convenience. However, regardless of the date of its celebration, this festival is always designated "La Fiesta de Agosto."

796 Usually combined with all these fiestas are what are called *bodas* and *ofrendas*. In its restricted sense the boda is a marriage ceremony or a marriage feast, while the ofrenda is the feast of the dead. The latter term is used in its more restricted sense among the Cayapa, and is a special feast held usually in honor of one or more relatives of the family giving the feast who have died within the previous twelve months, although such a feast may with equal propriety be held in honor of relatives long dead, especially if they had been notable people. The boda, on the other hand, partakes as much of the nature of a mortuary ceremony as of a marriage feast, and the word *boda* is used generally to include all kinds of feasting. At all gatherings of the Cayapa, regardless of their chief purpose, the people feast and dance a great deal, and much rum is consumed.

The three fiestas mentioned, as also the boda and the ofrenda, will be described from observations made on these ceremonies during 1908 and 1909.

La Fiesta de Semana Santa

"La Fiesta de Semana Santa," or the Easter festival, which is the most important and most elaborate of the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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fiestas of the Cayapa, illustrates the completeness with which intrusive religious ideas may become engrafted on the beliefs of a primitive people.

As celebrated in 1909 at Punta Venado, this fiesta was of five days' duration, and in detail was as follows:

First day. Hueves Santo, April eighth

While many of the fiesteros reached the village on the previous day, a considerable number did not arrive until toward evening of this the first day of the fiesta. By evening, however, all had reached the village, and its population now aggregated about five hundred. On the first day there was no dancing or special feasting, but during the day several religious services were held in the church, consisting of simple "rosarios" said by one or another of the leading men of the village, or by one of the negroes present. The greater part of the day was spent by the men in completely clearing the plaza. Owing to the rapid and rank growth of vegetation, the entire village was overgrown with weeds, grass, shrubs, and vines, although it had been cleared to a considerable extent for the Christmas fiesta.

Second day. Viernes Santo, April ninth

The second day saw also no dancing or special feasting. Services similar to those of the first day were celebrated in the church throughout the day. A large number of banners were made of bandana handkerchiefs and bright-colored cloth, and about twenty-five candle torches of bamboo were constructed. These torches were made by

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
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796 373 fastening in pairs, on opposite sides of a long bamboo pole, short joints of bamboo of the proper size to hold a candle. Some torches had as many as fifteen of these pairs of candle sockets, and in all there were spaces on the torches for upward of five hundred lights. The 796 several stretchers used in carrying the images of saints and also an image of Christ were newly draped and prepared for use in the processions.

At about 7 o'clock P.M. criers were sent out to summon the people to the church for the first of the more important services of the fiesta, which everyone is obliged to attend. By 7:30 all had assembled. The doors were then closed and fastened, and guards placed over them to prevent anyone from leaving during the service. 796 This rite was conducted by the sindico, or warden of the 795 church, assisted by some of the head-men of the village, and at intervals as it progressed first one and then another of the numerous candles about the altar were extinguished until at last but one flame remained. This the sindico took into the vestry behind the altar, leaving the room in utter darkness, whereupon each of the men and boys immediately produced one or two large paddle-shape pieces of tough green bark, which he had kept concealed upon his person, and proceeded to castigate himself severely. The men all wore shirts made of light calico or of bandana handkerchiefs. That they might receive the full force of the punishment, however, each man pulled his shirt up about his neck and struck himself upon the bare back with his paddle. The blows were delivered with great force, making a loud whacking sound, but no severe pain was inflicted, as the paddles

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PL. CXXXIII

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

FIRING "SALVOS" IN THE PLAZA.

[p. 386(B)]

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were flat and very wide. After about ten minutes of this castigation, the sindico returned from the vestry with the candle, the paddles were dropped, and all the men and boys scurried off to the side and rear walls of the church.

This self-inflicted punishment is in this particular region confined to the Indians alone. Although there is a large negro population, and many negroes attend this ceremony, none participate in this part of it. The negroes in certain other sections, namely, to the south of Esmeraldas, are said to inflict similar punishment on themselves, while those of some other parts are quite unacquainted with the custom. This, together with certain other observances, such as whipping with a cat-o'-nine-tails on Easter Sunday, may be due to the influence exerted over the Cayapa by early Catholic priests. That the same customs do not prevail among the negroes is due seemingly to the fact that at the time of the later influx of negro slaves, other orders and other church customs had superseded those which may have given these particular ideas to the Cayapa. It is possible also that in certain of these customs there is a vestige of some aboriginal ceremonial observances, but if so it is not now possible to segregate them.

On the return of the single light to the altar, several other candles were lighted and the service was concluded by further responsive chanting.

Next was formed a procession, in which practically everyone appeared, headed by bearers of a cross and images of saints, followed by bearers of the candle torches and the banners, and by a large number of other fiesteros. Each person, whether carrying anything else or not, bore

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

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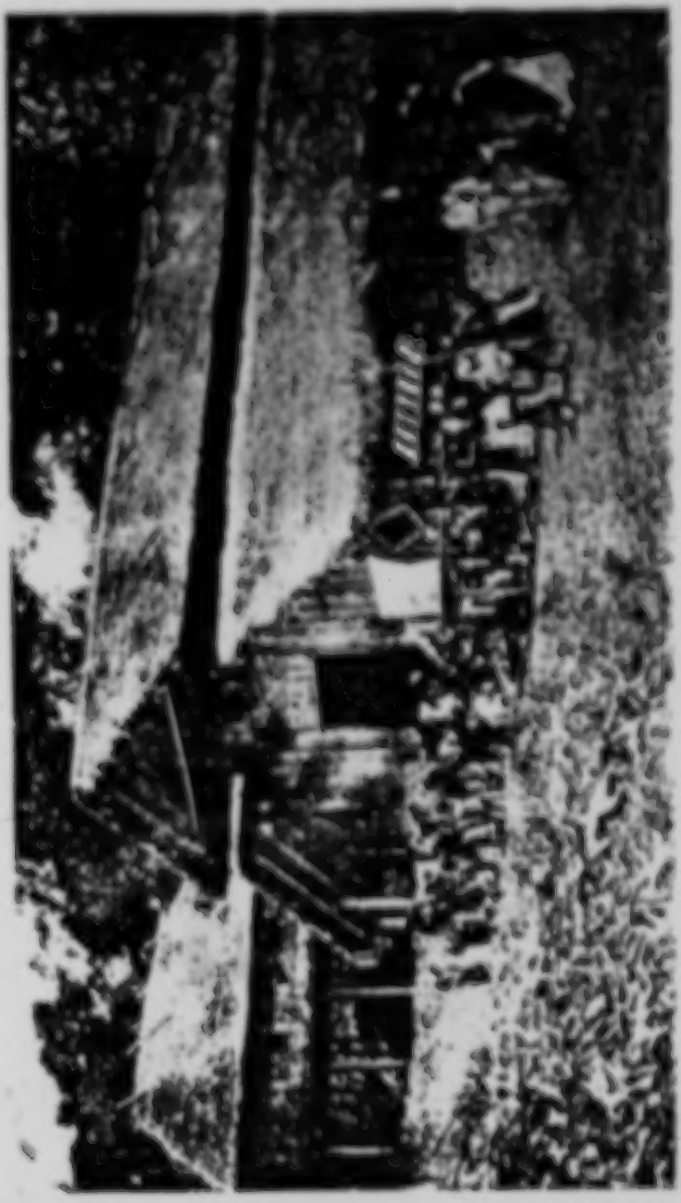

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

PROCESSION CIRCLING THE PLAZA

[p. 385(a)]

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MUSIC IN A RANCHO

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[p. 388(A)]

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a short candle in one hand. In addition, a considerable space in front of the church was filled with row upon row of candles, and nearly all the houses in the pueblo, especially those near the church, were illuminated with candles. In all, not fewer than twelve or fifteen hundred candles were thus used. As is usual with such processions, there was much shooting of firearms in front of the church immediately before the procession came forth. After passing round the church and about the plaza, the procession returned to the edifice, where the images of the saints were redeposited at the altar, and the banners, and also the torches, which were still burning, were placed about the walls.

After the chanting of another rosario, two long spears were taken to the front of the church and crossed between the front house-posts, which were twenty feet apart and about fifteen feet back from the door. The spears were crossed at about a foot from their points, the shafts passing upward and their ends resting each upon the shoulder of a man at one of the posts. Directly behind the point where the spears crossed was placed a short piece of lighted candle, one that would burn out in twenty or thirty minutes. As such a piece of candle was consumed, two other men relieved the guards with the spears. These remained on duty during the burning of another candle, when they in turn were relieved. This guard, typifying the guard before the tomb of Christ, was maintained uninterruptedly until about 3:30 A.M., when the procession with the images of saints, the candle torches, and the banners, was repeated. For the exit and reentrance of the procession, the guards with-

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drew their spears and permitted passage through the central space between the house-posts. At all other times no one was permitted to pass between these posts, although frequent services were held throughout the night. 796

On the return of the procession to the church and the redepositing of the images, banners, and torches, the space between the house-posts was closed by the spears and the guard kept as before until about 7:30 A.M., when another service, a "gloria," was chanted. During this service the guards circled about each other, each slowly twirling his spear in the right hand, much as a man may twirl a cane. Toward the close of this service the spearmen mounted guard at each house-post, with the spears held vertically and with the points up, but after its conclusion the guard was no longer maintained.

Third day. Sabado Santo, April tenth

After the early morning ceremony above referred to, nothing other than the chanting of rosarios took place in the pueblo until about noon. A dance was then commenced in one of the houses and continued until nearly dawn of the following morning. [535

Fourth day. Domingo de Pasqual, April eleventh

Shortly before dawn, four images of saints were placed in a small "rancho" in the plaza. Here also were brought the marimba, the drums, and the rattles used in the dance during the night. The exterior of this structure, with the rank growth of grass and weeds in the plaza about 796 342 [534]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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it, is shown in the background of pl. CXXXII. In pl. CXXXIII part of the structure is just visible below the cloud of smoke before the church, and in pl. CXXXVI it is shown in the background. In both of these the plaza is shown completely cleared of vegetation as it appeared during this particular fiesta. The interior of the "rancho" with the instruments and their players is shown in pl. CXXXIV. Here throughout the day, until about 4 P.M., the music was continued almost without cessation, regardless of the fact that services, processions, and feasts were at different times in progress in the pueblo. It is the custom to give the images guarapo to drink on this one day of the year, and this must be done very ceremoniously and with much music. The images themselves are supposed never to drink rum, nor is it drunk in their presence, but great quantities of guarapo are consumed actually by the fiesteros as well as ceremonially by the images. A small calabash is filled with this drink and is held to the lips of the image for some minutes, or if the image is so placed that the calabash cannot be placed to its lips, they are moistened with guarapo by dipping the finger into the liquid. The images having been allowed to imbibe from this calabash, its contents are either thrown on the ground or drunk by some of those present. In addition, other guarapo is constantly drunk by the fiesteros. Almost no rum is drunk in the vicinity of the "rancho," but in case it is desired to drink rum, etiquette requires that a person must turn away from the saints, otherwise they would be displeased at the sight.

At about 8:30 A.M. a service was held in the church,

PANTOMIME OF THE ANGEL DESCENDING TO THE TOMB

[P. 390(a)]

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PROCESSION REENTERING THE CHURCH

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[p. 390(8)]

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followed by an ofrenda, or feast for the dead, in one of the houses, and simultaneously by a procession about the village, some attending one and some the other. The procession was similar to those held during the night, except for the absence of the candle torches and the addition of a pantomime of the descent of an angel upon the tomb of Christ.

Among the Cayapa there is celebrated on this particular day a kind of passion play in which an attempt is made to act out in a small way the resurrection of Christ. In the center of the plaza, and not far from the "rancho" where the saints were drinking guarapo, was a scaffold about fourteen feet in height, in the floor of which was an opening through which a small boy, dressed in full European costume of white cloth and with white-cotton imitations of the wings and tail of a bird, was lowered by means of a rope upon a representation of the tomb of Christ. This tomb was a kind of box made of slats carved in ornamental forms, in which rested an image of Christ and over which a black cloth had been placed. As the boy who impersonated the angel was lowered from the staging by a couple of men, he extended his arms and legs as a bird might extend its wings and tail, and, nearing the tomb, he seized in his mouth the black cloth and was drawn back to the staging, typifying the return of the angel to the sky. In pl. CXXXVI is shown part of this scene. The boy dressed in white and holding the black cloth obtained in his descent upon the "tomb" may be seen standing with the two men on the scaffold. The "tomb" is just being removed from under the scaffold. The procession then wended its way, circling round the

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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796 church, as shown in pl. CXXXV, and passing again down the plaza, this time to the "rancho," which it circled, finally returning and reëntering the church (pl. CXXXVII).

796 785 At about 10 A.M. the sub-chief took his place at the extreme left of the altar, and criers were sent to summon all to the church for the annual castigation with the cat-o'-nine-tails, which punishment is obligatory upon all the Indians, both old and young. This ceremony, however, is never participated in by the negroes. If a man, the devotee bows or sits upon the left heel; if a woman, she bows or sits before the altar and receives one or more strokes from the cat-o'-nine-tails, which always has five points, so that each stroke counts as five lashes. The devotee must receive one stroke, and may take as many more as he desires. Often a person takes two or three strokes, and later returns once or even several times for an equal number. The castigator uses discretion in inflicting the punishment—to an adult he admisters blows with full force, but to a child the blow is light. The men come in their usual attire and receive their lashes upon the thin and very tightly drawn clout. The women, on the other hand, dress especially for the occasion, putting on always a calico or bandana covering to completely hide the face and the upper part of the body and wearing their newest and best manta. Frequently several mantas are worn one outside the other, for protection against the blows. It is customary for the women to make and to keep a manta for this special occasion and which after the ceremony may be worn every day, but it must never be worn before the ceremony. Comparatively small boys and girls come vol-

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CASTIGATOR WITH CAT-O'-NINE-TAILS

[P. 392(A)]

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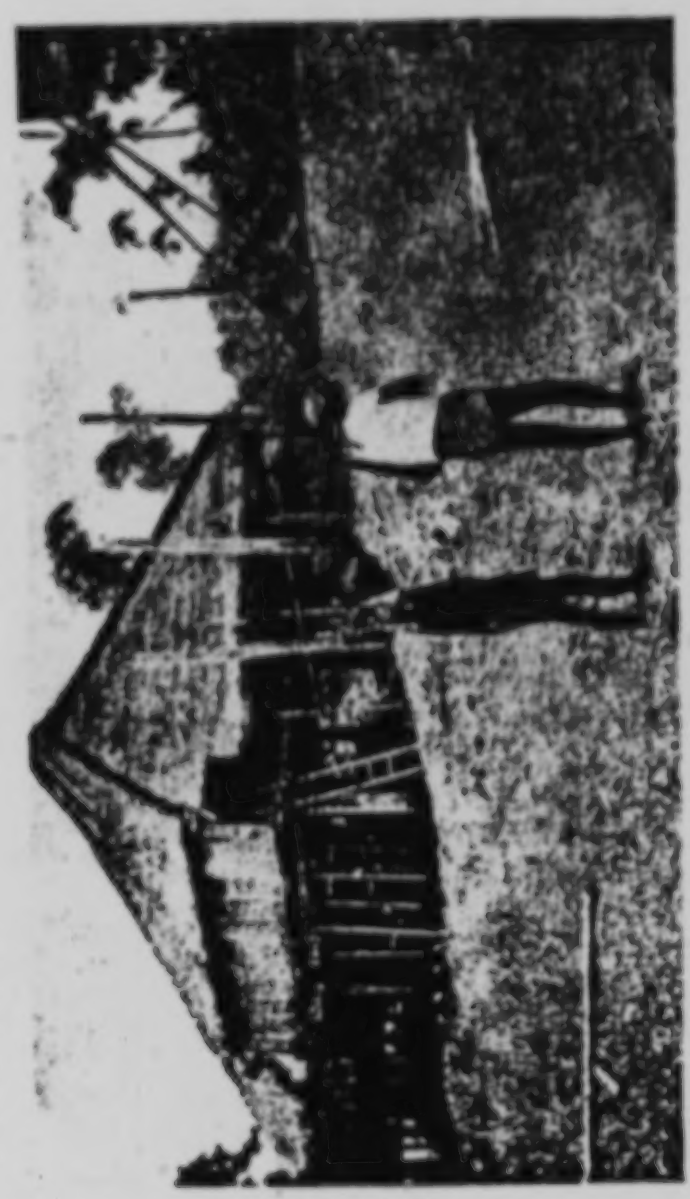

THE CEREMONIAL WHIPPING

BARRETT—CAYAPA INDIANS

[p. 392 (B)]

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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untarily for this castigation, but children of from two to five years are usually accompanied. If necessary they are brought forcibly by their elders. The very small children generally receive but a light tap from the castigator.

A few minutes after the castigation at the altar commenced, an assistant took up his position just outside the door of the church and there administered punishment to any who desired it, after which they were at liberty to enter and receive still more at the altar if they desired, although this was not necessary. Pl. CXXXVIII presents a view of this castigator with his cat-o'-nine-tails. Pl.

FIG. 28.—Technic of cording on cat-o'-nine-tails

CXXXIX, 2, shows him in the act of striking a devotee. In actual practice this was done at the door of the church. These two pictures, however, were posed at a short distance from the building in order to gain a better light. Fig. 28 shows the technic of cording on the whip.

By 11:30 the castigation of the devotees was finished and the second ofrenda of the day was called. Nearly everyone attended, but a few remained at the "rancho" to play before the saintly images there.

At about 4 P.M. the saints from the "rancho" were re-

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turned with proper ceremony to the church, and the ceremonies of the fiesta proper were ended.

The night was spent in dancing, although this was not an essential part of the ceremony. By evening of the following day (Monday) all the fiesteros had started toward their homes, and some even left the village during the afternoon of Sunday.

This fiesta is the most important of all the gatherings of the Cayapa and is one which almost all attend even though they may be so situated that the journey to their particular village is a difficult one, and may never attend the other gatherings of the year. Even those Cayapa who live on the Rio Verde and at other distant points endeavor to return to their old home village to celebrate this particular ceremony.

La Fiesta de Noche Buena

"La fiesta de Noche Buena," or the Christmas festival, is the less important of the two strictly religious ceremonies of the Cayapa, and, while the services are held by the síndico, or guardian of the church, and by others, these are not so elaborate as are those held at Semana Santa just described, and less interest is displayed. All these services and indeed the entire conduct of the fiesta are almost identical with those of Semana Santa, except that various of the ceremonies and processions, especially those concerned with enacting the resurrection of Christ, are absent, as is also the ceremonial drinking by the images of saints. There is much dancing both day and night, and there are frequent feasts, some being

[i.e. Easter. --- Analyst]

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of the type known as bodas and others of the type known as ofrendas, given by different persons. 796

This is one of the principal times when offenders against tribal laws are punished, although they may be punished with equal effect at any other public gathering. This fiesta usually lasts from three days to a week. [626]

La Fiesta de Agosto

As before stated, the date of the Fiesta de Agosto is quite irregular, depending largely on the convenience of the priest who is to attend. The whole fiesta had its origin in the Ecuadorian national holiday, August tenth, and by the whites and negroes of other parts of the province it is celebrated always on that date. Among the Cayapa, however, this festival takes the place of the Easter fiesta as celebrated among the whites and negroes, in so far as the services of the priest are concerned. Whereas he always celebrates Easter at some point near the coast, and the whites and negroes almost always attend, the Cayapa await the arrival of the priest at their own villages for any such special services.

At a time when they know that the priest is in one of the villages at the mouth of the river, usually the village of La Tola, during the late summer or early autumn, a deputation is sent by the Cayapa to invite the priest to come to their villages to hold this annual fiesta. Governed largely by other engagements, the priest appoints a time when he will be able to be present; the Cayapa officials then notify all the people of a given village to assemble at that particular time. A day or so

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909) 1925
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796 before the appointed time a large canoe manned by a deputation of Cayapa is sent by the chief to La Tola, or wherever the priest may happen to be residing at the time, and he is brought up. His arrival at the pueblo is usually preceded by the gathering of practically all the Cayapa who can attend the fiesta, although some stragglers may not appear until the following day.

[346] In each of the three Cayapa villages there is a special house, known by the Spanish term convento ("monastery"), which is reserved for the priest and at no time is ever occupied by anyone else. After establishing himself the priest usually goes directly to the church and holds the first service, and thereafter throughout his stay he is kept busy holding services of one kind or another. Usually two regular services are held each day, [765] besides the various special masses for the repose of the souls of the dead, especially those who have died within the year. In addition to these services the priest officiates at all the marriages, baptisms, and confirmations for the year past. He remains usually from a week to two weeks at each of the three Cayapa villages, depending on the interest of the Indians and the apparent need of his presence.

As in each of the other fiestas described, ofrendas and bodas are held almost every day, and sometimes several in a single day. Except in one particular these are the same as the ofrendas and bodas at the other fiestas and those celebrated between times. On this occasion every one who intends to give a feast usually brings to the morning service in the church a small portion or several small portions of each kind of food to be used at the feast.

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These are placed on a table specially provided for the purpose in the center of the church, and a particular blessing is given these by the priest during the service. They are then usually taken to the convento as a gift to the priest, or they may be taken back to the feasting table. 796

During his entire stay the priest is provided by the Cayapa with an abundance of all kinds of native foods. Every morning quantities of plantains, yuca, fruits, game, and fish are taken to the convento, and in every way the Cayapa see that he is abundantly supplied. In addition, of course, he is paid in money by them for the various masses and special services which he conducts.

Boda

In the strictest sense of the term, a boda is a marriage feast or ceremony. Among the Cayapa, however, it has attained in addition a more general signification, being applied to any gathering at which there is feasting and dancing, but which is without special church services such as are held in the fiestas. A boda therefore usually includes, besides the ordinary feasts proper, other special feasts known as ofrendas, which are really feasts for the dead. In addition there are usually held certain simple church services which do not require the presence of a priest. Usually a number of bodas are held during the course of the year. Each in a way is a personal or family festival, and is almost always given by one, or not more than two, families. They are all practically alike in their essential features. A detailed description of one will give an adequate idea of all. 796 585 765 796

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796 A boda held from January seventh to tenth, 1909, was as follows:

At the Christmas fiesta announcement was made that two certain families would give a boda on January seventh. Meanwhile the members of these families commenced to accumulate the provisions for the feasts. Much hunting and fishing and drying of meat were done; rum was distilled; vegetal foods were procured; and, not the least in importance, a trip was made to the ocean to procure shellfish and crabs. On the afternoon of January seventh, accordingly, a considerable number of people assembled, still others coming in on the following day. No feasts or special ceremonies were held until the next day.

First day. January eighth, 1909

At about 9 A.M. a service was conducted in the church, followed by feasts in one of the houses of the village.

The first of these feasts was an ofrenda. While the service was being held in the church, the members of the family, assisted by friends, were placing upon the table all the food which had been prepared the night before. The table, as usual, was prepared by spreading upon a considerable area of the floor a covering of the large leaves of hoja blanca, and upon these were placed all manner of eatables. Liquids or semi-liquids were contained in pottery or calabash dishes, and dry foods were placed directly upon the leaves. There were many of
796 the various mammals, birds, and fishes of the region
252 dried and smoked until almost jet black; monkeys,
262 guatins, squirrels, zorras, woodrats, and other mammals

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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dried whole; and guantas, deer, jaguars, pumas, armadillos, sloths, and wild hogs, all in dismembered parts. Among the birds were parrots, toucans, doves, grouse, wild turkeys, herons, and egrets, all dried whole. Dried fish of various species, especially the shad, were present. In vegetal foods also there was great variety, as the plantain, yuca, papaya, rascadera, sugar-cane, coconut, guabo, zapote, bread-fruit, orange, chonta dura, and palma real. Care was taken in arranging the table to see that there should be as much display as possible. The dried mammals and birds were in many cases placed in erect poses, and fruits or pieces of other foods were placed in the beaks of the birds and in the mouths or between the paws of the mammals. In one or two instances mammals were so posed as to appear as if fighting.

Directly after the service in the church, to which a small portion of the food was taken in order that by its presence during the service it might receive the blessing for all the food used in the feast, all the people of the village congregated at this particular house. The men and larger boys occupied the room in which the table was spread, and the women, girls, and small boys the room adjoining. The givers of the feast then presented to whomsoever they thought proper various articles from the table, such as a dried mammal, bird, or fish, and some fruit. These were for the recipients personally, and were to be taken home by them. On receiving such a gift, a man always took it personally or sent it to some of the women of his family in the adjoining room. This division of the food took a considerable part of what was

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upon the table; the rest was divided into small bits, and, after an invocation by the warden of the church, the men and boys, all seated on low benches about the table, proceeded to feast. The women meanwhile partook of a portion of the food that had been sent to the next room to them. Having finished the meal, a benediction was pronounced by the warden and the floor was cleared of all scraps of food and the leaves forming the table.

Immediately fresh leaves were spread as at first, and the boda, the word being here used in its more restricted sense, was served. While an ofrenda has a very elaborate assortment of foods, a boda has only fish, oysters, or meats cooked in ripe plantain in the form of a thick gruel. This is served always in the aboriginal pottery plates of the kind shown in pl. LXXXVII, 4, although for everyday use dishes of European manufacture have almost entirely supplanted the pottery plates formerly used. In this particular case the boda consisted of a single course of plantain and fish, but sometimes other courses are served in order. The feast having been finished, the majority of the people went to their respective abodes in the village or to the house of the chief.

At such gatherings offenders against the law are usually brought before the chief, by whom justice is dispensed and differences between indivjduals adjudicated. On this particular occasion several matters of this nature demanded the chief's attention. The details of these will show something of the methods of dispensing justice among the Cayapa.

Immediately after the boda on this first day the chief sent some officers to bring before him certain offenders

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against the law. The offenders were, in this case, a man and a woman. The man had deserted his wife and child after abusing them for a considerable time and had assumed relations with a young widow. He had therefore been guilty not only of infidelity and abuse, but also of violating the immutable law forbidding divorce. The woman's crime was somewhat less grave. Being a widow, she had a right to remarry, but she had no claim to the husband of another woman. In justice to the Cayapa as a tribe it should here be remarked, as has been elsewhere pointed out, that cases of infidelity, wife-desertion, and abuse are extremely rare. Almost without exception the family relations are held sacred by both men and women, and in general the relations existing between the sexes are governed by stringent laws which are regarded faithfully. In this instance both the offenders were brought to the house of the chief and were placed in the stocks where they remained during the afternoon. The man displayed no sign of emotion, but the woman wailed and chanted the greater part of the time. Both were remonstrated with by friends, and the mother of the woman sat beside her almost constantly, weeping and chanting her plaint at the disgrace that had been brought upon the family by the daughter's misconduct.

It would appear that the keeping of such offenders for many hours in the stocks is an exemplary measure and is done for the effect which it will have on the community at large. The punishment which they are to receive is often decided on long before its infliction, but they are kept in the stocks as an example to the people at large

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627 and especially to the younger generation, and their con-
796 duct is discussed both privately and publicly throughout the village and its evils are pointed out. Especially is this done by the public utterances of officials, who speak in the large hall in the chief's house where the offenders are incarcerated.

Toward evening the prisoners were released from the stocks and permitted, under guard, to take food, being later returned to the stocks. About nine o'clock a gathering assembled in the room, the man was taken from the stocks, and several of the officials, including the chief, made short speeches concerning the pair and their crime. One of the speakers was a woman, a relative of one of the offenders. At last the sub-chief spoke rapidly and eloquently for about twenty minutes, berating the man for his conduct and his disobedience to the laws of tribal society.

Finally the commission of officers who had been sent in the morning to bring the two for punishment was called forth and its leader gave a ritualistic invocation, after which the offending man was brought forward and made to stand before the stocks with his body inclined slightly forward. The chief then administered fifteen strokes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, the equivalent of seventy-five lashes. The culprit was destined to receive a greater number of strokes, but owing to the chief's infirmity due to a recent gun-shot wound, and to the fact that the culprit proposed to buy partial immunity with rum for the assemblage, he was given his liberty after receiving the punishment noted.

The woman was then brought forward and received

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The WOMAN WAS then brought forward AND received
ten strokes, or fifty lashes. Her case, however, was 796
different from that of the man, and she was not then set 627
at liberty. By living with the man she signified her 587
desire to marry, hence it was determined that a husband should be found for her. She was therefore placed under a guard of three officers for the night, while the officials set about to find a man who would consent to take her as his wife. She was thus held in custody until January eleventh. Meantime an old man living on the Rio Camarones was found who was willing to marry her. As a matter of fact, her relatives had tried to arrange the same marriage some months before, but as she was unwilling to marry the old man, the priest had refused on his last visit to the village in October, to perform the ceremony. When the boda ended on the afternoon of January tenth the woman was given into the custody of the chief's wife, being held in the chief's house until the following morning, when a commission of three officers called for her and delivered her to the old man who was supposedly destined to become her husband. As a matter of fact, she remained with him only a few days, when she and her paramour stole away to parts unknown.

Second day. January ninth, 1909

A short service was held as usual in the church, fol- 796
lowed by another ofrenda. This was marked by disorder in dividing the food, everyone grabbing for what he [264]
considered a proper share. This was in very bad taste, according to Cayapa etiquette, and was loudly condemned by the older men. This misbehavior was prob-

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ably due in part to the increased drunkenness, which was apparent throughout the day, but was due more largely to the greed of several negroes present.

After this feast the floor was cleared of remnants of the meal and of the leaves used to make the table. The second feast, the boda, was then served as usual. This consisted of three courses, each served on the same plate in the case of each individual, care being used in replenishing the supply that the plates of different individuals should not be interchanged. The three courses of these mush-like foods consisted of plantain with fish, plantain with meat, and plantain with oysters. In case any individual did not eat any or all of his portion, it was taken to the next room by the host or by one of the attendants and given to one of the women of his family. The men giving the boda served the guests, while the women attended to filling the plates.

In this particular instance the whole of the previous night had been spent by the hostess and her friends in cooking and preparing the plantain mushes used in this boda. While hot they were poured into burden-baskets lined with leaves. When served they were cold and very thick.

Immediately following the feasts another refractory pair were brought to justice. In this case the man had forsaken his wife and for three months had been living with his first cousin, who had deserted her husband. Each of the culprits, therefore, was charged with the double crime of desertion of spouse and cohabitation with first cousin. These are considered great breaches of tribal law and are severely punished. As on the previous day,

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the offenders were placed in the stocks, remonstrated with by relatives and friends, and finally whipped. In this case the man received a hundred and seventy-five lashes, or thirty-five strokes of the cat-o'-nine-tails, and in addition was required to pay a fine in money amounting to about fifteen or twenty sucres. The woman's punishment was a hundred and twenty-five lashes, or twenty-five strokes. The greater severity of the punishment in the cases of these two offenders was due to the fact that they were first cousins, which relationship prohibits marriage under any consideration.

Another example of punishment was witnessed late in the afternoon. A young man had inbided freely and while in his cups ran amuck in two or three houses. Others endeavored to quiet him, and to hold him and prevent serious trouble, but he seemed crazed with the rum and determined to fight, until finally it became necessary for officers to take him in hand. After a struggle he was carried to the stocks and secured by one foot. He fought desperately to release himself, but finally fell asleep and after several hours awoke in a much better mood.

In this instance was shown a good example of the devotion of the Cayapa women. Throughout his drunken frenzy the young man's mother had endeavored to quiet him, and for her trouble been struck by him repeatedly. Nevertheless, as soon as he quieted down in the stocks she took up her station beside him and fanned him almost continuously during the time he slept. Such instances are very common. It is not considered a disgrace for anyone, either man or woman, to become intoxicated,

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796 and the care of those who are sober is to see that a person does no serious damage while in that state. The rum 627 used produces a cycle of symptoms, beginning with 273 jollity and loquacity, passing through a desire to display skill, such as bending hands with an opponent, and ending with a frenzied desire to fight. It is then that the women usually take a hand and try to pacify the men. Sometimes several women are required to hold a drunken man and prevent serious trouble.

In the case of the young man above mentioned, no further punishment was inflicted. When he awoke in a fairly sober state he was taken before the chief, who lectured him on the error of his ways, and warned that if he repeated the offense he would be castigated and fined.

Third day. January tenth, 1909

796 A brief church service, preceded and followed by a procession about the plaza, was held in the forenoon as on the two previous days, and was followed by an ofrenda and a boda. Whereas on the two previous days the ofrendas had been more for the dead in general, in this case there was a feast for a person who recently had died. This fact brought out another interesting custom. After [785] the feasting (both the ofrenda and the boda) was finished, the sub-chief took his position at one end of the hall and administered a stroke or two with the cat-o'-nine-tails to each member of the family who had given the feast, and many others presented themselves for similar castigation, but it was compulsory only with the members of the immediate family and their relatives.

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During the feasts the cat-o'-nine-tails used for the castigation, together with various articles of apparel of the deceased and certain articles given for the purpose by relatives, was suspended upon a pitigua cord over the table. These articles were later distributed among some of the guests not related to the family.

After these feasts and the attendant ceremonies many of the people went again to the chief's house. The same pair of culprits who received punishment the day before were again brought in, placed in the stocks, and later castigated. The woman received twenty-five strokes, or a hundred and twenty-five lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails, while the man was given between thirty and forty strokes. The whipping of the man was due chiefly to the fact that he still refused to return to his lawful family. Even after he had been thus severely whipped by some of the officers a second time and was brought before the chief, he refused to return to his family. The chief and others argued with him and tried again to persuade him to see the error of his way, but he stoutly maintained that he would not return, and the chief finally became so vexed that he gave the culprit a couple of resounding slaps on the side of the head and remanded him to the stocks where he remained nearly the rest of the day. Toward evening he was liberated and was not further punished. It is very unusual for the chief to slap a culprit, and such an act is done only under great provocation. In the case of almost anyone else, such a slap would be highly resented and would result in a fight, but a culprit does not dare offer resistance to the chief under such circumstances.

Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

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all lined up single file broadside to the altar. There were two bridal couples and the two sets of godparents, each couple clutching a lighted candle. The priest, an Italian, who had just arrived from missionary service in the Congo, told them that candles were not at all needed for the marriage service. The members of the wedding party looked somewhat discomfited, but they maintained their grips on the candles. The priest repeated his admonitions several times. There was no argument, but the Indians just stood there holding their candles in front of them. Finally, the priest, with a generous Italian shrug, said, "If you want to get married with candles, I'll marry you with candles, but you really don't need them." In a small way, Catholic flexibility had met Cayapa rigidity and the priest was beginning his accommodation.

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Easter is the most important holiday for the Cayapa. The day before Easter week, people begin arriving at the ceremonial center and set up housekeeping. The following day, most of the people have arrived. There were no special services, and most of the day was spent in clearing the plaza. The /ún^{y}i/ began the work of

clearing. He worked alone for perhaps two hours before he was joined unenthusiastically by eight other men. They all worked separately and at a considerable distance from each other. Other men made minor repairs to the church, and still others made small repairs to the houses surrounding the plaza. All of the houses were in very poor repair, but no one felt obliged to undertake the effort required to make really good repairs. The houses were only used during Easter and Christmas, and none of the inhabitants felt sorely pressed.

The second day of Easter saw people busily engaged in building bamboo cross poles to which were fastened candles. That evening, about six, all of the fiesteros, dressed in their finery, formed a procession. A Negro carried a large statue of a saint in his arms at the head of the parade. Behind him, forming a straggling line, two and three abreast, came the Cayapa. Some men and women held candles in their hands, some men carried the large bamboo cross-poles with six to eight candles. Some carried the smaller statues of the saints. They walked around the church three times, and then entered. Groups of Negroes were present and they sang hymns in Spanish. The Cayapa like to have the

Negroes present for Church services, because they like to hear them sing. One of the complaints voiced against the/ũn^{y}i/ was that he had not invited enough Negro singers to the fiesta.

On Easter Sunday, there was a great deal of varied activity in all of the houses as the Cayapa prepared for the church activities. This meant that they put on their newest clothing, and young children were dressed in the kind of ornamentation ordinarily worn by women, they often had row upon row of beads and bangles hanging from the neck down to the waist. Around ten o'clock, the church bell rang, and people began drifting over to the church. The officials stood outside with their whips, and as people approached, they struck them several times across the buttocks. Some went into the church, where the chief stood in front of the altar. They bent forward and received the blows. Children were whipped also, but very lightly. Some of the officials went into each of the houses looking for stragglers. After all had been whipped, they whipped themselves and one of them whipped the chief. Only a few of the Negroes joined in the ritual, and, in these

instances, it was done with a joking air. There was some laughter as the Cayapa were whipping themselves, but it was restrained. As the official went about looking for more people, they kept stating, "Everyone has to be whipped, everyone." This practice very likely was brought in by Catholic missionaries at a very early period.

In general, the description of a fiesta given by Barrett applies, with one major exception. The passion play described by Barrett was no longer being performed. In its place a group of fiesteros set up a marimba, small hand drums and several bass drums in a small rancho between the church and the main house of the chief. During the evening of Easter Sunday, they played with such gusto that sometime between one and two in the morning the structure collapsed. Concurrently with all of these activities, the chief dispensed justice, marriages were arranged, marriages were celebrated, Negro funerals were conducted, fisticuffs were engaged in, people drank, also passed out, woke up, and the band played on. This continued for six days and nights.

Christmas was similar, except that there were no nighttime processions around the church. Ideally, seven sponsors are chosen for the Christmas *fiesta*, and they are expected to supply rum, tobacco, and *guarapo*, and perfumed toilet water which is used to douse the *fiesteros* during the evening following the church services on the twenty-fifth. The families of the sponsors distribute the goods to all comers until the supply is exhausted. This is expensive, and the outlay in cash may run to over five hundred *sucres*. While it is said to be an honor to be a sponsor, no one apparently accepts the honor willingly. Sour corn meal is prepared several days before Christmas and mixed with water. This drink, called *campu* is put in small canoe-like containers on the evening of the 25th. Ten to twelve containers are divided up and blessed by the chief who makes the sign of the cross. The drink is then carried around and people dip gourds of it and drink. During the Christmas *fiesta*, the chief wandered around for hours arguing with men who claimed that they were too busy or too poor to become a sponsor for the next Christmas *fiesta*. Finally, the chief lost his temper and

harangued the people for about a half an hour during which he said that they were all evil people and that his own son would sponsor the upcoming Christmas fiesta, and that he would help him finance it. This was later done by manufacturing and selling several canoes in Esmeraldas. The chief told the writer that it is very difficult to find sponsors and that he had to sponsor several fiestas in the past because no one else would. By their refusal, Gabriel was forced to assume more control over the fiesta and he was beginning to instruct his son regarding fiesta responsibility.

Sponsorship gives one religious merit. Their gifts are blessed before the statues of the saints by the Chief. The main business of the fiesta is now undertaken--serious drinking. As the effects of alcohol begin to make themselves felt, long smouldering disputes are argued and brought to the chief for settlement. Drunken officials approach drunken single men and attempt to arrange marriages, transgressors against the law are brought before the chief and tried.

Any Cayapa will say that he is a good Catholic, but religion is always manifest as a group, rather

than as a personal, phenomenon. That is, there are no family shrines within the home. Individuals do not pray. It is only on festive occasions when many families come together that the trappings of religion are brought forth. The statues of the saints will be displayed in a makeshift shrine within the home which is being used as the gathering place. Some candles are lit; the chief makes the sign of the cross, and the drinking begins. As it progresses, the saints will be turned to the wall "because they do not like to see so much drinking."

The ceremonial centers with their cemeteries, churches, and fiesta activities give the Cayapa a much needed sense of self-awareness and identity. If a priest is present, so much the better; if not, the Cayapa know that they are doing the right thing, that they are moral, and that they are Catholic.

Supernaturals. The Cayapa have a large inventory of spirits and devils (Barrett 1925:360-381). Two that are not mentioned by Barrett seem to reflect a feeling of fear on the part of the Cayapa toward the Negro: The first of these is duende; he lives at the headwaters of

main classes of officials. First, there is the /únʸi/ or gobernador; second, there is the /káša únʸi/ or gobernador nuevo; and third, there are those officials called /čáⁱtala/. This term may derive from /čačí/ 'people' and /-tala/ 'together,' that is, an official who gathers people together. Those officials who are called capitán or /tánde/, the latter from teniente, and the secretario, seem to be /čáⁱtala/ and are listed on the official roles in the provincial capital of Esmeraldas. Regardless of Spanish title, the /čaⁱtala/ are not functionally distinct. That is, the duties of all of the officials are the same: to help arrange marriages and to settle disputes. At the ceremonial center they may as a group try a case while the /únʸi/ listens to the proceedings and comes to a decision. In addition to these officials, there are individuals who are called policemen and who are available at the request of any of the officials. Their duties include the bringing in of culprits for trial as well as aiding in the maintenance of a modicum of order at the fiestas.

The /únʸi/ 'chief' of each of the tribal sections

uncertainties. These uncertainties are carried over into the new period of chieftainship wherein there is a great difference between the people's perception of authority and their expectation of authority. Gabriel is not seen as a strong chief but, rather, as a man who drinks excessively and as a result, is unable to function as a chief should. At this point political behavior took two forms among the Cayapa. On one level, individuals were seen expressing dissatisfaction with Gabriel as the newly installed /únʸi/ and threatening to go to Quito, the national capitol, to have him replaced. The youngest son of the late /únʸi/ was voicing complaints that by rights he should have been the /únʸi/ because he speaks excellent Spanish in marked contrast to Gabriel. Most of the complaints seemed to emanate from the lower reaches of the Río Cayapas, more especially from the region of Pichiyaco, the home of the late /únʸi/. Complaints were voiced that Gabriel could not speak good Spanish, that he could not perform his duties, that he could not settle disputes, that he was /vinrúku/, "a drunkard." As the time drew near for the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado, many people

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began saying that they would attend the fiesta at one of the other tribal sections rather than attend one headed by an incompetent drunkard. Others said that if they attended, they would not ask Gabriel to settle their disputes; rather than this, they said, they would go to the national authorities. Gabriel was clearly not very secure in his position. The behavior of the people in these instances was political because there was a shifting of support from one authority to a contender. Furthermore, the shift of support was ideologically motivated in terms of values concerning the nature of the chieftainship (of Easton 1958; Siverts 1960). Gabriel's reaction to this was to drink more. Often when I would be talking to one or more Indians, Gabriel would appear on the scene, quite drunk, and begin to electioneer in a loud voice. He would tell the Indian(s) that he was responsible for my being there and that they would all benefit by my knowledge of hypodermics and penicillin. Whenever I saw Gabriel, he was obviously drunk; these observations extended over many months.

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The personal crisis for Gabriwl seems to have

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been met during the Christmas fiesta. He took no overt steps to assert his authority beyond stating to a few Negro bystanders that he was the /ún^{y}i/. He remained drunk a good deal of the time but so did most of the other fiesteros including women and, at times, children. Little by little, people became aware of the fact that there was indeed an /ún^{y}i/ available, and a few began drifting over to where he lay drunk, sprawled in his hammock; despite his inebriation, /xavítu/ "complaints," were presented to him. It turned out that most of the disputes to be settled were from the area that had initially manifested greatest opposition to Gabriel. Gabriel, therefore, began to function as the /ún^{y}i/ in fact, as well as in name; however, his performance was not at all satisfactory. For example, on one occasion when he was asked to cure a sick child because he had studied curing with a brujo from Sapallo Grande, he was ineffective in carrying out this ritual because of his drunkenness.

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As the fiesta wore on day and night without dissolution for a full week, the second level of political

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behavior began to develop. Individuals, all very drunk, and occasionally two or three holding each other up, would stand in front of Gabriel and lecture him on his drunkenness. This was not the way an /inʸi/ should act, they would say; he must be sober; he must change his ways, or the people would not listen to him. From time to time his wife would place herself before his supine form which was sprawled occasionally on the floor, but most often in his hammock. She would loudly and clearly, in front of the assembled crowd, harangue him in the same vein, telling him to sober up and get out and behave as an /inʸi/ should. Scenes like these were repeated throughout the year at various small parties and again at Punta Venado during the next Easter season. The attendance during Easter was markedly less than at the previous Christmas gathering. Political resistance had not died down. The situation described above has all of the elements of a comedy [drunks moralizing to a drunkard], but Gabriel was an element of poignant tragedy within the comedy. The previous year he had not been a drunkard, but that year he was not the /inʸi/.

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personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

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old days." Being young they would, of course, be without sin, and Jesus would find the sight touching and forgive the world. Gabriel also let it be known that any of the Punta Venado group who did not attend would be fined by a special commission composed of two Indians and two Negroes. The Negroes would be needed to speak harshly to the stay-at-homes because the Indians have too much shame to speak with the needed firmness. The chiefs of the other sections never came to the proposed meeting. Probably sensing his lack of control over the other groups as well as within his own group [several people had voiced opposition to going so far to Punta Venado], he about-faced and stated that a celebration would be held at his house, to be followed in a week by another to be held at the Cimarrón house in Encanto. According to informants, this would serve adequately because the statues of the saints are in Gabriel's house and would be brought to Encanto when needed.

It is clear that at this time Gabriel had no control over the other sections and very little over his own. Resistance to him was on an individual basis

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], as he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Venado.

After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wipu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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earlier by way of the custom of night courtship described above. These affairs need not end in marriage, and both parties are free to seek greener pastures. It is the decided impression of the writer that the Cayapa women are the sexual initiators generally and that they are visited by a comparatively small number of sexual activists among the men.

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Arranged Marriages. Most men do not have the brashness of character required to steal a woman, and many are not able to carry through a successful night courtship. For them, therefore an arranged marriage is necessary. One way of arranging a marriage is for the father of a young man or woman to ask one of the tribal officials to find a spouse for his offspring. If the official does not know of anyone immediately available, he will make inquiries at whatever fiesta he happens to attend. There is no charge for this service.

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This sort of match-making was attempted unsuccessfully at a fiesta that I attended at Sapallo Grande in 1960. The fiesta was a combined affair, honoring the dead and celebrating a recent marriage.

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4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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It was sponsored by Marianito Añapa of the Río Camerones who is a member of the Sapallo Grande section. The marriage was for one of his sons. During the festivities it was noticed that Ciro Añapa, a young man in his twenties, was very drunk and he seemed to be having a difficult time with Trivinio Balsor who is one of the policía of the Punta Venado section. Trivinio was also very drunk. From time to time, Ciro would break out in tears and loud sobs while Trivinio spoke to him. After a while, Ciro pushed Trivinio away from him and went to another part of the room where he continued to cry and sob for a long time. All that had happened was that Trivinio had told Ciro that he had a girl waiting whom he could have in marriage. Ciro kept protesting that he was too young and that he wanted to finish the fourth grade at the school in Encanto. The sequence of events leading to this lacrimose scene began with the girl's father having spoken to an official of the Sapallo Grande section, who in turn had spoken to Trivinio.

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Sometimes the father of a marriageable girl will ask an official to deliver her to a specific man